DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 035 028 CG 004 745

AUTHOR	Jackson, Jacquelyne Johnson
TITLE	Changing Kinship Roles and Patterns Among Older Persons in a Black Community.
INSTITUTION	American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY	Public Health Service (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	1 Sep 69
NOTE	23p.; Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Convention, Washington, D.C., August 31--September 4, 1969
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.25
DESCRIPTORS	Age Differences, *Black Community, Family (Sociological Unit), *Family Environment, *Family Relationship, Negro Attitudes, *Negroes, Negro Role, *Older Adults, Role Perception, Social Relations

ABSTRACT

A description and comparison of kinship relations among older and younger blacks and the changing conceptualizations of growing old and the changing status of older persons are presented. The sample consisted of 198 younger (under 50) and older (over 50) blacks in a low income area within a Southern city. The three major areas studied under kinship relations included interactional activities, mutual assistance patterns and subjective patterns of kinship relations. Regarding the changing conceptions of growing old, the younger persons were rejective of old age while older persons tended to emphasize some advantage, in addition to negative factors. With the probable increase in the number of unhealthy older blacks and negative attitudes toward the aged the status of the aged black will probably tend to more nearly approximate that of the elderly white. The maintenance of effective kinship relations however provides some base for companionship and assistance in old age and unless too many social workers interfere black communities will continue to maintain the greatest amount of support and comfort for the elderly and their aged will continue to try and be useful. (RM)

ED035028

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

Changing kinship roles and patterns among older persons in a black community[1]

by

Jacquelyne Johnson Jackson, Ph. D.[2]

In a sense, frankness necessitates the immediate admission of the prematurity of the title of this paper. Any discourse about change ought clearly utilize at least two temporal points sufficiently enriched with empirical data appertaining to the phenomena under consideration.

In the absence of a wealth of such empirical data, however, this paper about "Changing kinship roles and patterns among older persons in a black community" focuses largely upon two purposes related, hopefully, to change.

The first focus is upon some description and comparison of kinship relations found among a sample of blacks residing in a predominantly low-in-

---

1 This paper, prepared for oral presentation at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D. C., 1 September 1969, was partially supported by the Center for the Study of Aging and Human Development, Duke University Medical Center, Durham, North Carolina, and by Grant 1 RO1 MH16554-01 from the Public Health Service, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

2 Assistant professor of medical sociology, Department of Psychiatry, Duke University Medical Center, Durham, North Carolina.

CG004 745

come area scheduled for urban renewal within a Southern city. Some differences between the kinship relations of the younger and the older subjects may suggest certain changes which occur with aging, while others may be changes attributable to a changing sociocultural environment , and the like.

The second focus is upon changing conceptualizations of "growing old" as they were expressed by this sample, and upon certain impressionistic judgments I harbor about the changing statuses of older persons within black communities.

Description and comparison of kinship relations found among a specific sample of urban blacks. Table I provides a selected description of the sample of 198 younger (i.e., under 50 years of age) and older (i.e., 50 or more years of age) blacks from whom data were collected in personal interviews in 1968 and 1969, using a modified form of the Adams' Kinship Schedule.[3]

In both the interest of time and the more direct purposes of this paper, I shall generally refrain from providing statistical data about the sample

---

[3] See Bert N. Adams, Kinship in an urban setting, Markham Publishing Company, Chicago, 1968, for this schedule, and for a discussion of his theoretical and analytical frameworks, which were used, to some degree, in the analysis of the present data.

distributional patterns in the three major categories of interactional activities, mutual assistance patterns, and subjective patterns of their kinship relations. I shall instead provide a few generalizations about certain aspects of those relations, as they tended to exist among this sample.

Insofar as interactional activities during the past year or so were concerned, both younger and older subjects tended to engage in home visiting with greater frequency with friends than they did with parents, oldest children, siblings, grandchildren, and cousins. Following friends, a larger proportion of both age groups reported that they were more likely to engage in home visiting with their parents, as compared with the remaining kin.

The modal participant in home recreation for the younger persons was a sibling; in commercial recreation, a friend; and in outdoor recreation, an oldest child. For older persons, the pattern was most often with father for home, commercial, and outdoor recreation. Excluding spouses (a relation not under consideration herein), the modal vacation partner for the younger group was a sibling, for the older, an oldest child.

The modal participant accompanying a younger subject to church was a grandchild, followed by an oldest child, and then by mother. The older subjects, however, tended more often to be accompanied to church

by a friend, followed by an oldest child.

If the subjects had worked together at the same job during the past year or so with any of the kin under consideration, they had most often engaged in this occupational activity with a cousin.

Grocery shopping was an activity where the subject, younger or older, was most often accompanied, if at all, by his oldest child, followed for those younger persons who were grandparents by a grandchild.

Younger persons were most likely to have provided financial assistance during the past year or so to their children, as compared with mother, father, oldest child, and sibling. Older persons were more likely to have provided financial assistance to their mothers.

Both the younger and the older persons were more likely to have assisted their mothers (again, rather than oldest child, father, sibling) with household or ground chores, and younger persons were more likely to have assisted their mothers, and older persons, their fathers, during an illness. The younger subjects were more likely to have given advice to their oldest child, while the older subjects were more likely to have given advice not to their oldest child, father, or sibling, but to their mother.

What about aid which the subjects may have received from their mother, father, oldest child, or sibling? Younger persons were most likely to have received financial assistance from their oldest child, while older persons were more likely to have received such aid from their father.

The prime sources of assistance with housekeeping and ground chores were from oldest children to the younger, and from fathers to the older subjects.

Younger persons were more likely to have received advice from their mothers, and business assistance and gifts from their oldest children, while older persons were more likely to have received advice and gifts from their fathers, and business assistance from their oldest children.

In the above, I have concentrated upon the kinship relation of the participant in the interactional activity, or upon that of the aid recipient or aid giver. For those of you who may be interested in the percentages of those who participated within these patterns within any given kin relationship pattern, such data are available in Tables II through V in the handout.

Some subjective data may be of interest. Insofar as telephone communication between these subjects and their oldest children are con-

cerned, younger parents are more likely to initiate the communication, while older parents are more likely to be called by their children. The subjects are somewhat more likely to call their siblings than the siblings are to call them, while both the younger and the older subjects reported that they and their best-known cousins are about equally likely to call each other. For grandchildren, the pattern is quite similar to that of oldest child: grandparents are more likely to call grandchildren in the younger subject group, while grandchildren are more likely to call the older subjects.

Substantial closeness between a subject and a kinsman (as measured by asking the respondent how close he felt to the given individual, with quite close or extreme close being substantial) indicated that, while a majority of the subjects felt that they were substantially close to each of the kin, a larger percentage of the younger subjects than the older subjects indicated a closeness to mother, oldest child, sibling, and grandchild, while the reverse was true for father, cousin, and friend.

Close identification (measured by the extent to which the subject would like to be like the kinsman) showed that the older subjects were somewhat more likely to identify more closely with mother, father, oldest child, sibling, cousin, and friend than were the younger subjects, while the latter were more likely to identify closely with grandchild.

Substantial value concensus (i.e., considerable agreement with the given individual in those areas to which the subject attached great importance) indicated that the older subjects were more likely to fall within this category with respect to mothers, fathers, oldest children, siblings, cousins, while the younger group indicated greater substantial value concensus with grandchildren and friends.

Most of these subjects generally indicated that they were not the prime initiator of face-to-face contacts with their relatives and friends, with one exception. The older persons, in about three out of every five cases, did regard themselves as prime initiators of contacts with their parents. Beyond this, about 20 percent felt that they were prime initiators of contacts with their cousins, but none of them regarded themselves in this role with their siblings, as was also true of the younger persons. Interestingly, too, is the small number with grandchildren who felt that they initiated such contact. The general impression was that the parents of the grandchildren were most often responsible.

How important an obligation is the maintenance of kinship contact? With one exception--and that in the case of grandchildren--a larger propor-

tion of the older persons felt that this obligation was very important! About two out of every three regarded it as being very important for both their oldest children and their mother, followed, in descending order, by sibling, grandchild, father, cousin, and friend. For younger persons, it was grandchild first, followed by mother, oldest child, sibling, cousin, father, and friend.

An inquiry about satisfaction with present contact with kinsmen and friends indicated generally that the older persons were far less satisfied and desired more contact than did the younger persons. In every case (i.e., with mother, father, oldest child, sibling, cousin, grandchild, and friend), a minority of the older subjects were not satisfied. On the other hand, a majority of the younger subjects were satisfied with their present contact, with the exception of that with siblings and with their friends.

Some changing kinship roles and patterns among older persons can be implied, as previously suggested, by comparing the younger subjects with the older subjects. Some of the changes are obviously age-related, while others are more likely to be the result of sociocultural factors not related to aging, and still others probably an admixture of both. It is,

of course, with caution that I suggest certain of the changes which follow.

Younger and older subjects differed significantly[4] in that older subjects were more often in substantial value concensus with their mothers and more closely identified with their mothers, were less satisfied with the contact frequency with mothers, and more likely to provide financial and "other" assistance to their mothers. Older subjects were also more likely to receive assistance in job placement <u>from</u> their mothers. The latter three areas are probably more related to sociocultural changes, while the former may be more age-related.

Younger subjects were more likely to get advice from their mothers, to engage in what they regarded as "babysitting" with or for their mothers, and more likely to provide household or ground chore assistance to their mothers.

Fewer differences of any significance characterized the fathers. Older subjects were more likely to have a closer identification, to go shopping together, and to give "other" assistance to their fathers, all of which are probably primarily related to aging factors.

---

[4]Significance is measured here and throughout this section by chi-square, with values at the .05 level of confidence or beyond being considered as significant.

The younger and older persons differed in their relations with their oldest children in that younger parents engaged in home visiting and vacationing with greater frequency, as they also did in grocery shopping and "other" shopping. As, no doubt, expected, younger persons provided more babysitting services, and were more likely to render financial assistance to their children, as well as advice. As earlier mentioned, younger parents were more likely to initiate telephone calls between themselves and their oldest children, while older parents were more likely to be the recipients of such calls. All of these changes are probably related to the normal changes in parent-adult child processes of aging.

Older subjects tended to live farther away from the siblings closest to them in age, and to have more frequent telephone communication with their siblings. They also reported greater value concensus with the siblings, while the younger subjects were characterized by more substantial affectional closeness, which might, in part, be a function of their geographical proximity.

The younger subjects also tended to have lived in closer proximity to their cousins during most, or a portion, of their lives, and these cousins were generally older than they, while the opposite was true for the older sub-

jects. In addition, and probably related, at least in part, to a decrease in activity level accompanying aging, the younger subjects engaged in commercial and home recreation, and in shopping together with their cousins more often than did the older subjects.

As expected, the grandchildren of the younger subjects were themselves younger than the grandchildren of the older subjects. They were also more likely to live with their grandparents, and to receive babysitting services from their grandparents. Younger subjects were more satisfied with their contacts with grandchildren, and were accompanied to church by grandchildren much more frequently.

Younger subjects were also more likely than the older subjects to provide financial assistance, luxury and necessary gifts, housing, and childcare for their grandchildren. They were also more likely to receive assistance with their household or ground chores from their grandchildren, and, in addition, some advice as well.

While older persons were more likely to be called by their grandchildren (as was true in the case of oldest children), older persons felt that they did not see the grandchildren as often as they desired be-

cause of geographical distances (including, in some cases, subjects and grandchildren within the same city), while younger subjects were more inclined to feel that they saw their grandchildren less because the latter were "busy."

Most of the differences between the two age groups are probably directly or indirectly due to aging, but I suspect that increasing distance between child and parent and child and grandchild may occur in geographical areas similar to the ones from which this sample was drawn if the trend of relocating those eldery faced with involuntary relocation into public housing (including homes for the elderly) persists, for such relocation has a tendency to increase, in some cases, the geographical distance between the older person and his close kinsmen.

There were also some significant differences in relations with friends. The older subjects tended to report both a larger number of and no friends, and were less often to report relatives as friends than were the younger subjects. The latter tended to be both substantially closer and less close to their friends, while the older subjects expressed closer identification with friends.

The younger subjects engaged with greater frequency in commercial recreation and other recreation and shopping, while the older were more likely to attend church together.

The younger subjects were also more likely to be in touch with friends other than their best or closest friends, and the older subjects attached far greater importance to the obligation of keeping in touch with friends, while the younger attached greater importance to enjoying friends.

All of these differences with friends are largely age-related as well.

Conceptualizations of "growing old" and impressionistic judgments of changing statuses of older persons within black communities. When asked what "growing old" meant to them, the younger persons in the sample were almost overwhelmingly rejective of old age. Most often they defined "growing old" by age (usually 60 years), poor health, specific and negative personality traits (such as "bossiness," "bothersome," and"childish"), rejection (indicating loneliness, despair), extreme dependence, and rarely mentioned any positive aspect.

While the older persons almost 50 most often characterized "growing old" by a specific age (most often 70 years, but ranging from 25 to 90 years), and by declining physical and mental health, and by some negative traits, they also tended to emphasize some advantages (e.g., freedom from obligations, including work, being able to rest, and "looking back over a satisfactory life). A few were ambivalent.

With the probable increase in the numbers of older persons in black communities who will be less healthy, or more incapacitated than is currently the case, accompanied by a probable increase in such negative attitudes toward the aged as those particularly expressed by the younger persons in the present sample, the changing status, in general, of aged persons within black communities will probably approximate more nearly, in the years ahead, that of aged in white communities. If so, in any number of instances, that would be a tragedy!

I, for one, should hope that black aged will generally continue to experience life cycles that terminate prior to reaching a vegetation stage of "withering away" while continuously "out of touch with reality" over any extended period. Being institutionalized or otherwise housed in such a con-

dition, and surrounded by other "useless" beings provides no satisfactory twilight zone .

Certain contrasts in the data garnered from the younger and the older persons in this sample reinforce clearly a comment obtained from one of the sample members (47 years of age) on "growing old:" "The way you feel depends on how you have treated your relations when you were young, because it does away with neglect (to you) when you are old. If you treat people nice while you are young and able, then they will treat you the same way when you are old."

In short, the maintenance of effective kinship relations provides some base for companionship and assistance in one's older years, and, in that respect, unless, perhaps, too many social workers and other "busy-bodies" interfere, black communities will continue to maintain the greatest amount of support and comfort for their aged, and their aged will continue to try to be useful, and, if useless, perhaps, to choose alternative patterns of dealing with the situation so as to avoid becoming burdens upon themselves and others.

DATA TABLES

TO ACCOMPANY THE PRESENTATION OF

"Changing kinship roles and patterns among older persons in a black community"

by

JACQUELYNE JOHNSON JACKSON

Table 1. Selected background characteristics of the younger and the older members of the urban sample

CHARACTERISTIC	Younger persons	Older persons	CHARACTERISTIC (cont.)	Younger persons	Older persons
Sample size:	73	125		73	125
Percent base:	100.0 %	100.0 %		100.0 %	100.0 %
* Age: mean, in years	35.5	65.5	Presence of relatives and friends (cont.):		
s.d., in years	9.6	9.4			
Sex: male	23.3	28.8	* no sibling	13.7	33.6
* Marital status: never married	21.9	9.6	* no known cousin	27.4	54.4
married, w/spouse	38.4	22.4	no friend	12.3	16.9
separated/divorced	28.8	21.6	* Living alone	35.5	70.2
widowed	11.0	46.4			
* Education: under seven years	27.4	58.1	Length of present community		
some high school	26.0	33.1	* residence:		
high school graduate+	26.0	8.9	all one's life	36.2	12.3
* Unemployed during past year	46.8	72.9	ten or more years	43.5	77.0
Presence of relatives and friends:			fewer than ten years	20.3	10.7
**no children, no grandchildren	31.0	47.1			
* children, no grandchildren	52.1	11.8			
* children and grandchildren	16.9	39.5			
no living children, but grandchildren	0.0	1.7			
* father living	28.7	3.2			
* mother living	58.9	6.4			
** no living brother	16.7	32.3			
* no living sister	10.3	30.8			

*Except for the mean age (using z), chi-squares were computed. Differences were significant at or beyond .001. **Using chi-square, $p>.05$.

Table II. Percentage distribution of interactional, aid, and subjective characteristics of kinship relations with parents, oldest children, and siblings among younger and older persons

CHARACTERISTIC	RELATIONS WITH SUBJECT'S Mother Younger	Mother Older	Father Younger	Father Older	Oldest adult child Younger	Oldest adult child Older	Sibling-closest Younger	Sibling-closest Older
Sample size:*	43	8	21	4	24	62	63	83
Percent base:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
INTERACTIONAL ACTIVITIES**								
Home visiting	66.7	75.0	66.7	50.0	4.3	30.0	54.9	46.0
Commercial recreation	11.6	0.0	5.0	25.0	12.5	4.8	35.5	5.9
Outdoor recreation	7.0	0.0	4.8	25.0	25.0	9.7	14.5	2.4
Vacation	9.3	12.5	4.8	25.0	12.5	41.3	30.6	21.2
Church	48.8	50.0	23.8	33.3	50.0	34.9	32.8	15.3
Clubs	-	-	-	-	4.2	6.3	-	-
Working together at same job	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	4.8	6.5	2.4
Babysitting	38.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	29.2	15.9	19.4	1.2
Grocery shopping	41.9	12.5	4.8	0.0	66.7	33.4	-	-
Other shopping	47.6	12.5	0.0	25.0	66.7	29.0	34.4	11.8
Other	2.6	16.7	5.3	25.0	20.0	15.4	0.0	10.9
Happy occasions	81.4	62.5	71.4	25.0	79.2	55.6	56.8	56.8
Reunions	29.5	12.5	33.3	25.0	29.2	28.6	18.2	17.7
Telephone communications:								
monthly or more often	-	-	-	-	68.4	43.6	-	-
several times, or special	-	-	-	-	21.1	40.0	-	-
Subject usually calls	-	-	-	-	41.2	15.2	41.0	25.0
Relative usually calls	-	-	-	-	17.7	56.6	28.2	17.3

Table II. (cont.)

CHARACTERISTIC	RELATIONS WITH SUBJECT'S Mother		Father		Oldest adult child		Sibling-closest	
	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older
AID GIVEN BY SUBJECT TO RELATIVE**								
Financial assistance	54.0	57.2	20.0	25.0	66.7	21.1	-	-
House or yard assistance	80.0	33.3	25.0	25.0	23.1	8.9	-	-
Babysitting	-	-	-	-	43.8	10.5	-	-
Illness	42.1	16.7	15.0	25.0	33.3	12.3	-	-
Advice	63.3	50.0	20.0	25.0	76.5	43.9	-	-
Other	0.0	20.0	0.0	25.0	34.1	7.9	-	-
AID GIVEN TO SUBJECT BY RELATIVE**								
Financial assistance	40.5	16.7	25.0	60.0	61.1	34.5	-	-
House or yard assistance	33.3	16.7	15.0	40.0	53.3	17.5	-	-
Transportation	-	-	-	-	35.3	12.3	-	-
Illness	-	-	-	-	28.6	23.6	-	-
Vacation	-	-	-	-	7.7	9.1	-	-
Advice	71.5	16.7	30.0	40.0	14.3	22.2	-	-
Business assistance	0.0	14.3	5.0	20.0	35.7	25.0	-	-
Gifts	59.5	16.7	30.0	60.0	62.5	54.4	-	-
Other	2.5	16.7	5.3	33.3	0.0	4.3	-	-
WAS ANY AID EXCHANGED? **	-	-	-	-	-	-	70.0	90.7
SUBJECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS								
Contact frequency-- daily	34.1	27.3	42.1	33.3	52.1	29.3	0.0	0.0
Strong affectional closeness	88.0	84.6	61.5	68.7	91,7	87.5	79.1	69.0
Comparative affectional closeness								
not as close now	10.7	0.0	22.7	25.0	15.0	18.7	27.7	24.1
about the same	71.4	50.0	54.5	25.0	60.0	61.0	45.2	44.8
closer now	17.9	50.0	22.7	50.0	25.0	20.3	37.1	31.0

Table II. (cont.)

CHARACTERISTIC	RELATIONS WITH SUBJECTS' Mother		Father		Oldest adult child		Sibling-closest	
	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older
SUBJECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS (cont.)								
Value concensus: substantial	71.2	81.0	35.	54.1	58.3	65.6	58.5	61.7
divergent	28.8	19.0	64.8	45.9	41.7	34.3	41.5	38.3
Identification with relative								
close identification	62.1	69.3	29.0	45.9	29.2	29.7	24.6	30.9
some identification	12.1	24.8	18.8	20.7	45.8	51.6	32.3	37.0
distant or no identification	25.8	6.0	52.2	33.3	25.0	18.8	43.0	32.1
Prime initiator of contact:								
Subject himself	41.2***	62.5***	41.2***	62.5***	15.8	10.3	0.0	0.0
Relative	58.8***	37.5***	58.8***	37.5***	52.6	46.6	27.9	23.4
Other	-	-	-	-	31.6	43.1	72.1	76.6
General obligation to maintain contact:								
Very important	59.5	66.7	26.3	50.0	55.0	67.2	46.6	59.3
Somewhat important	31.7	16.7	36.8	0.0	10.0	29.3	29.3	29.6
Unimportant	31.7	16.7	36.8	50.0	0.0	6.9	24.1	11.1
Satisfied with contact frequency	75.9	28.6	73.7	40.0	75.0	39.7	43.5	22.7

*N varies occasionally for different items. **Percentages of those who engaged in the activity at least once during the past year or so, or had the trait specified, unless otherwise indicated. ***The question was not asked for mothers and for fathers, but only for parents.

Table III. Percentage distribution of interactional, aid, and subjective characteristics of kinship relations with grandchildren among younger and older persons

CHARACTERISTICS	GRANDPARENTS Younger	Older	CHARACTERISTICS (cont.)	GRANDPARENTS Younger	Older
Sample size:*	13	56		13	56
Percent base:	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0
BACKGROUND:			AID GIVEN TO GRANDCHILD (cont.)		
Subjects with no grandsons	23.1	19.2	Takes on special trips	20.0	5.4
Subjects with no granddaughters	15.4	25.9	Other	0.0	5.9
Grandchild(ren) in same household	46.2	16.7	AID GIVEN BY GRANDCHILD TO GRANDPARENT**		
Daughter's child seen more often than son's child	92.3	68.0	Financial	20.0	7.9
Frequency of contact: daily	50.0	15.9	Feeling of usefulness	57.1	31.6
monthly or more often	40.0	47.7	House or yard work	55.6	18.4
INTERACTIONAL ACTIVITIES**			Visits	60.0	26.3
To the park or walking	36.4	16.3	Transportation	0.0	5.3
Babysitting	54.5	20.5	Gifts	20.0	15.8
Movies	0.0	4.5	Advice	40.0	7.9
Reading to child	18.2	11.4	Writing letters, reading, etc.	0.0	2.6
Church attendance	72.7	31.8	Child "not much help at all"	20.0	33.3
Grocery shopping	54.5	25.0	SUBJECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS**		
Other shopping	63.6	31.8	Strong affectional closeness	100.0	80.0
Trip	27.3	22.7	Substantial value concensus	42.9	40.0
Other	0.0	14.8	Close identification	87.5	78.4
AID GIVEN BY GRANDPARENT TO GRANDCHILD**			Initiator of contact: Grandparent	9.1	12.8
Financial to parent for grandchild	50.0	5.3	child's parent's idea	18.2	35.9
Financial assistance to grandchild	75.0	17.9	grandchild's idea	9.1	17.9
Luxury gifts	66.7	23.7	spouse's or other's idea	63.6	33.3
Necessary gifts	81.8	18.4	Satisfied with present contact	83.3	43.2
Child care	75.0	23.1	Desires more contact with grandchild	16.7	54.5
Advice	75.0	42.5	Grandparent usually telephones	100.0	34.8
Place to stay (housing)	66.7	27.5	Grandchild usually telephones	0.0	52.2
Illness	16.7	10.3	Very important obligation to keep in touch	70.0	56.1
Keeps after school until parent arrives for child	16.7	7.7	Child not seen more: distance	16.7	71.4
			child busy	83.3	14.3
			never seen much	0.0	14.3

*N occasionally varies. **Percentage of those engaged in activity at least once during past year or so, or with trait indicated.

Table IV. Percentage distribution of interaction and subjective characteristics of kinship relations with cousins among younger and older persons

CHARACTERISTICS	Cousin Younger	Cousin Older
Sample size:*	55	68
Percent base:	100.0	100.0
BACKGROUND:		
Relation-mother's sister's child	42.9	34.8
mother's brother's child	28.6	13.0
father's sister's child	12.2	14.5
father's brother's child	10.2	23.2
Cousin known quite well	74.6	73.5
Cousin in same city as subject	45.5	43.3
Lived in same city with cousin or "grew up" together	81.8	76.5
Cousin older than subject	63.5	29.8
Cousin younger than subject	36.5	71.2
INTERACTIONAL ACTIVITIES**		
Contact monthly or more often	34.5	29.4
Commercial recreation	26.4	10.3
Home recreation	39.6	19.1
Outdoor recreation	11.3	10.3
Visiting	15.1	17.6
Vacation	15.1	11.8
Reunions	15.4	16.4
Emergencies	18.9	26.9
Working together at the same job	35.8	65.7
Babysitting	5.8	1.5

RELATIONS WITH SUBJECTS' CHARACTERISTICS (cont.)	Cousin Younger	Cousin Older
	55	68
	100.0	100.0
INTERACTIONAL ACTIVITIES (cont.)		
Holidays	50.0	44.8
Church attendance	26.9	20.6
Shopping	30.8	12.1
Other	5.1	17.0
SUBJECTIVE**		
Strong affectional closeness	61.5	68.6
Substantial value concensus	41.5	57.6
Close identification	25.0	31.8
Cousin seen monthly or more often	41.8	41.2
Subject prime initiator of contact	25.5	19.7
Cousin prime initiator of contact	19.6	24.2
Satisfied with present contact	27.5	29.9
Desires more contact	60.8	67.2
Desires less contact	11.8	3.0
Subject usually telephones cousin	29.2	13.5
Cousin usually telephones subject	29.2	18.9
General importance of keeping in touch (very)	27.3	39.1
Obligatory importance " " " "	17.8	23.4
unimportant	57.8	35.9
Enjoyment very important re " "	68.9	51.3
Feel closer to cousin now than formerly	20.4	23.8

*N occasionally varies with different responses. **Percentage of those who engaged in the activity at least once during the past year or so, or had the designated trait, unless otherwise specified.

Table V. Percentage distribution of interactional and subjective characteristics of friendship relations among the younger and older persons

CHARACTERISTICS	Friends Younger	Friends Older
Sample size:	60	110
Percent base:	100.0	100.0
BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS:		
Had no friends	12.3	16.9
Had one to four friends	52.3	26.3
Had five or more friends	35.4	56.8
Had friends, but not in city	6.0	11.7
Best friend lived next door	14.0	12.6
Best friend lived in neighborhood	28.1	44.7
Best friend also a relative	11.7	2.9
Best friend seen daily	45.8	35.5
Best friend seen weekly or more	13.6	26.2
Best friend seen weekly only	15.3	18.7
Best friend seen at least monthly	23.7	16.8
INTERACTIONAL ACTIVITIES:**		
Commercial recreation	38.3	12.1
Other recreation	28.3	13.3
Visiting	83.6	88.0
Vacation	1.7	3.7
Mutual assistance	37.7	27.8
Church attendance	26.2	52.8
Clubs	16.9	27.1
Shopping	52.5	21.9
Other	5.9	15.9

RELATIONS WITH SUBJECTS' CHARACTERISTICS (cont.)	Friends Younger	Friends Older
	60	110
	100.0	100.0
SUBJECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS		
Strong affectional closeness	93.4	98.1
Substantial value concensus	75.4	72.3
Prefers spending time with		
friends	19.4	25.2
relatives	37.1	46.8
both about equally	43.5	27.9
Close identification with friend	16.4	42.2
Outside of his own household, subject spends more time with his		
relatives	31.7	26.1
friends	54.0	63.1
about equally with both	14.3	10.8

*N occasionally varies from item to item. **Percentages of those who engaged in activity at least once during the past year or so, or had the designated trait, unless otherwise specified.